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TAMIL AREAS UNDER SIEGE

1000s KILLED, MANY MORE ARRESTED

A major offensive, amounting to total war, has been launched by the Sri Lankan government against the Tamil people. The operation is directed not only against so-called terrorists but also aimed at the whole of the Tamil people.

Thousands of Sinhala troops have been marauding the entire length and breadth of the northern and eastern provinces in the course of which over 1,200 Tamils, mainly civilians, including women and children, have been killed. Many more have been arrested.

A day and night 48-hour curfew was imposed during the weekend of December 8 and 9 and, after only an 11-hour break, another continuous 24-hour day and night curfew lasting four full days was clamped down in the northern province.

Under cover of a blanket curfew, the security forces mounted what amounted to virtual invasion of each and every Tamil home harassing, intimidating and beating up people.

Massive violation

Anyone who dared to show the slightest resistance to this massive violation of his home was given summary punishment — shot and killed at point-blank range.

Although the Ministry of National Security announced the arrest of 785 'suspected terrorists', Tamil Times learns that as many as over 3,500 have been rounded up, many of whom are innocent civilians.

The offensive in the north was preceded by mass arrests of Tamils in Colombo. The **Lanka Guardian**, an English fortnightly, of December 1 reported: **By Tuesday 27th (November) the security forces had taken into custody at least 4,000 Tamils in Colombo.'** Any Tamil person seen on the road was picked up. Tamil homes in Colombo and its suburbs were raided and inmates arrested. Even Tamil government and private employees were picked up from their workplaces. Tiger hunting has developed into Tamil butchery.

The government and its Minister of National Security have not only attempted to cover up and play down the number of Tamils killed but also have tried to make out that all the Tamils killed were 'terrorists' or bystanders who got caught in the cross fire.

Eyewitness accounts

Tamil Times has received direct and eyewitness accounts of the names, ages and other details of the majority of those killed by the armed forces. In almost all instances, the victims of these cold-blooded killings have been civilian Tamils.

Foreign press reporters have been refused entry into the northern and eastern provinces for fear of the army atrocities being exposed. Instead, the government has been engaged in a deliberately concocted campaign of lies through press statements fabricated in Colombo and unfortunately the foreign media have repeated them without proper verification. For instance, for one week after the event, the Minister for National Security, Mr Athulathmudali, had denied reports of the cold-blooded murder of 102 Tamil civilians in the Mannar district by the army.

In this incident, following the death of an army officer in a mine explosion, the army went on a killing spree, gunning down Tamil civilians in buses, fields, post offices and wherever they could spot a Tamil. When the former MP for Mannar in a telephone interview with a BBC reporter gave the details of the massacre, the government had to admit the army excesses.

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 3

METHODIST MINISTER BURNT TO DEATH: p.3

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Tamil TIMES

WANTED FOR MURDER

Over 200 Tamil civilians were killed in Nedunkerny on December 1. Their bodies were immediately burnt. Twenty-seven Tamils were shot dead on the same day in Mullaitivu. On December 2, 64 Tamils were arrested in Cheddikulam and later their bullet-ridden dead bodies were found along the Mannar–Vavuniya road.

On December 3, following the death of an army officer in a shoot-out between the army and some Tamil militants in Vavuniya, as many as 40 Tamils held in detention in the Vavuniya Army Camp were killed in cold blood; their bodies were burnt by the army. In apparent retaliation for the death of a single army officer in a land-mine explosion near Mannar, 11 postal employees, including the Postmaster, were gunned down at point-blank range at Murunkan; 65 Tamils in the village of Parapankandal (Mannar district), and another 42 Tamils at Cheddikulam were killed on December 4.

The above grim recital represents only a few of the scores of incidents in which several hundreds of Tamils have been indiscriminately and cruelly murdered by the Sri Lankan armed forces within the first week of December. Reports of hundreds of Tamils being shot and killed throughout the northern and eastern provinces are reaching us daily. Details available with us confirm the killing of over 1,100 Tamils in the three weeks ending December 10. In addition to these killings hundreds of houses have been set on fire.

Despite the fraudulent claims of the government and the Minister of National Security in particular about 'terrorists' being killed in imaginary 'encounters', all the acts of murder and arson have been and are being committed by the armed forces as reprisals against civilian Tamils and their property. The President, the government and the Minister of National Security have been engaged in a cover-up of the excesses committed by the armed forces.

President Junius Jayewardene is not only the head of the government, but is also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The armed forces are operating under the orders and directions of Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, the Minister of National Security. These two men are directly responsible for all actions of the security forces.

As much as these two men claim credit for the so-called successes scored by the security services against the 'terrorists', they must be held liable and guilty of murder and arson committed by the forces. In this campaign of murder and arson, the President and his Minister of National Security are the chief architects, or more appropriately the arch-conspirators.

They have made no attempt to prevent the murder of Tamil civilians and the destruction of their property. Any effort on their part has been to intensify the campaign against the Tamils as a whole.

The 48-hour curfew imposed on December 7 to cover the Tamil areas and the re-imposition of a continuous 61-hour curfew after only an 11-hour break are designed to starve the Tamil people and to facilitate the continuation of the atrocities by the security forces. All food supplies to the north have been discontinued.

The mass of the Tamil people have not defied any law; nor have they taken up arms against the government. Yet they are subjected to the most draconian restrictions; they are being starved; their homes are being violated and burned down; they are being arrested in their thousands; and they are being slaughtered.

'I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people . . . we cannot think of them, nor about their lives or their opinions . . . Really, if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy.' This is what President Jayawardene said in July 1983. It is in terms of this Presidential declaration that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are being starved and murdered in their hundreds and this is done to make the Sinhala people happy.

Acts of murder and arson do not become less criminal when they are committed by Presidents or Ministers or by their agents.

Today, Jayawardene and Athulathmudali are wanted men — wanted on charges of murder and arson committed against innocent, law-abiding, unarmed and defenceless Tamil civilians.

They may feel safe and protected because of the positions they occupy and the power they wield today. The blood and tears of the innocent and the flames which engulf their homes today will one day consume and destroy these fanatics. And that day is not far away.

32,140 TAMILS REPATRIATED

Between January and October 1984, a total of 32,140 Tamils working in the tea plantations and who were regarded as 'stateless' have been repatriated to India by the Sri Lankan authorities. Of these, 20,095 are adults and 12,045 are children.

Although the Indo-Sri Lanka Pact, under which this repatriation takes place, has expired, the emigration authorities are expediting all the previous applications with a view to getting rid of as many, and as quickly, as they can.

Even those plantation Tamils who would be entitled to gain Sri Lankan citizenship under the Pact appear to be willing to be repatriated because of the repeated racial mob violence they are subjected to.

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RAJIV ACCUSES SRI LANKA OF 'INDISCRIMINATE KILLING' OF TAMILS

The Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi lashed out at the Sri Lankan government for the current wave of indiscriminate killing of the island's Tamil minority in a statement issued on December 11.

Although preoccupied with the Indian elections and the Bhopal catastrophe, Rajiv Gandhi, in what observers described as his toughest statement, accused the Sri Lankan security forces of 'indiscriminate killing'.

Expressing 'grave concern' over the 'rapidly deteriorating situation', Rajiv Gandhi referred to the 'heavy loss of innocent lives' in the Tamil-dominated north and east of Sri Lanka. 'Many Tamils of Indian origin who had settled in these areas are among the victims', he added.

Displaying his full knowledge of the draconian restrictive measures imposed by the Sri Lankan government in the Tamil areas, the Indian PM added: 'Normal life has come to a standstill and the means of livelihood of the common people are disrupted.'

Timely intervention

This timely intervention of Rajiv Gandhi must have shattered some of the illusions entertained by Sri Lankan ruling circles about the new PM's concern for the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The late Mrs Indira Gandhi's interest in seeking justice for the Tamils was well known. Her view was that so far as the Sri Lankan Tamils were concerned, not only Tamil Nadu, but the entire Indian nation was interested. In the wake of the July 1983 anti-Tamil violence, the late Mrs Gandhi told the Indian Parliament:

'This is the fourth successive week that the sorrow and concern felt in our country over the tragic development in Sri Lanka have found expression in Parliament. The agony of our brothers and sisters in Tamil Nadu is the agony of the entire nation. The debate in this house today shows that it is not in any one part of the country or of the political spectrum that deep feelings have been aroused, but in our entire nation beyond party differences.

Concrete measures

'We are closely watching the situation and hope that with the support of Parliament and the Indian people we shall be able to bring about an atmosphere more conducive to negotiations. This will be a first step to eliminate communal tension and lead to concrete measures which can ensure a political settlement.'

Inaugurating the two-day 1,000th coronation anniversary celebrations of the great Chola king, Rajaraja, Mrs Gandhi declared on September 16 that the 'sympathy and moral support of the entire Indian nation was with the Sri Lankan Tamils'.

Rajiv Gandhi, who vowed to follow his mother's policies, said shortly after his appointment as Prime Minister that the issue of the Sri Lankan Tamils 'was relevant not only to Tamil Nadu, but also to the whole of India, South Asia and a much wider field. Our position has not changed and we will continue the same initiative and work to achieve some sort of a settlement acceptable to the Tamils in Sri Lanka.'

TAMIL AREAS UNDER SIEGE

FROM PAGE 1

The Sri Lankan government commenced its latest military offensive with a well-orchestrated and much-publicised imaginary threat of an invasion by 4,000 Tamil guerrillas from South India. It claimed that the Tamil militants planned to drive out the security forces from the northern Tamil areas and declare a separate state of Eelam before January 14th 1985.

The Indian authorities categorically denied these scare stories and accused the Sri Lankan government of being 'highly irresponsible'. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs characterised allegations of an 'invasion' being organised from any part of India as 'totally without basis' and charged that the Sri Lankan government was engaged in building up a 'war psychosis'.

Such denials did not matter to the Sri Lankan government which had decided to implement its diabolical plan with the assistance of the Israeli Intelligence Service.

The government has now enforced the most draconian and inhuman restrictions, transforming the entire Tamil areas of the country into a virtual concentration camp in which the whole Tamil population have become prisoners in their own homes (see statement by SCOT-HRC on page 5).

METHODIST MINISTER, POLICEMAN & DRIVER BURNT TO DEATH

Rev. George Jeyarajasingam, Methodist Minister, Police Constable Jesudasan Roche, and a driver, Abdul Cader Sulaiman, were waylaid by a group of army men, shot and burnt to death in the van in which the victims were travelling on December 13 from Mannar to Murunkan in northern Sri Lanka.

Rev. Jeyarajasingam was to have travelled to the UK on December 16 to follow a three-month course. Shortly before he and the other two met their death at the hands of the death squads of the Sri Lankan army, the Minister had met the Government Agent of Mannar who persuaded him to postpone his travel to Colombo owing to the dangers involved in such a long journey.

Postpone his trip

The Reverend decided to postpone his trip and set off in the Datsun van which was known to everybody in the area as a vehicle belonging to the Methodist Church because of the word JEEVOTHAYAM painted on the sides.

The driver of the vehicle was Abdul Cader, a Muslim. On the way, a Tamil police constable, Jesudasan Roche, known to the priest, requested a lift in the van to go to Murunkan which was almost 30 miles away from Mannar.

On the way, a group of army men stopped the vehicle, shot all three at point-blank range and set fire to the van with the three inside.

During his lifetime, Rev. Jeyarajasingam was in charge of an agricultural farm, Jeevothayam, for displaced people.

A leading Methodist layman in London said: 'If this could happen to a religious leader and a police constable, one can imagine what the ordinary Tamil people are suffering from at the hands of the Sri Lankan army.'

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INDIRA'S DEATH: EELAM'S AGONY

(Sukhran, reporting from Jaffna

Lamp posts without banana plants bound to them; telegraph posts without coconut, palmyrah or arecanut palms secured to them; streets without coconut leaf decorations hoisted over them; houses without black flags or improvised umbrella clothing fluttering in front of them; walls without messages of obeisance displayed on them —

Those were the rarities in Jaffna in the early days of November.

The butchers, the vegetable vendors and the grocers had all closed business. The bars, the restaurants and the taverns had all put up their shutters. The bazaars were closed and the markets were empty, barring the dogs and the crows. The courts heard no trials, the schools had no children and the offices lacked employees.

That was Eelam during the first three days of November.

There wasn't a soul without a heavy heart, without moist eyes and without shattered hopes.

Nation orphaned

From mansions to mud and wattle huts, from the Left to the Right and from the old to the young — there was grief, there was despair, there was anguish and there was anxiety in experiencing the shock, the helplessness and the irredeemability of having lost a friend in need, a saviour in despair and a fountain of hope.

The light had gone out of their lives.

In every family it was a personal bereavement.

An entire Nation felt orphaned.

So devastating the end had been; and so deafening the ensuing silence had been.

The entire Tamil Nation had been plummeted into shock, disbelief, melancholy and misery.

That was how the Tamil nation reacted to the reality of the loss of Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi, acknowledged in life as a leader of 750 million people and authenticated in death as a leader of 750 plus 3.5 million people by the tiny Tamil Nation, shackled and shelled in Sri Lanka.

Never before had the Tamil Nation transformed itself into one collective funeral house to shed their tears at the passing away of a leader.

Attained martyrdom

The *'Eela Nadu'*, the national Tamil daily published from Eelam soil, had it all in a nutshell when its headlines screamed: *'The tumble of the Himalayas — Jaffna ceases to function.'*

'Indira, an international leader, who had extended her hand of support to the poor, to the downtrodden and to the oppressed, attained martyrdom like Socrates, like Jesus Christ and like the Mahatma,' it concluded in an editorial. *'That is the natural process of history.'*

For day after day, its pages were inundated with not only column after column of news and appreciations about Mrs Gandhi but also with paid advertisements by individuals and institutions crying their hearts out for the departed leader.

Several processions

Even as the gun carriage bearing Mrs Gandhi on her last journey was winding its way through the mourning millions in Delhi, men, women and children were marching in silent processions, several scores of them, and some of them several miles in length, traversing the streets of even the remotest corners of Eelam.

Some took out giant cut-outs of Mrs Gandhi in the procession and these were greeted in reverence with traditional oil lamps brought out to the gateway of every home. Tiny tots waved in salutation, leaflets stuck to *eakle* sticks and bearing portraits of Mrs Gandhi. Some processions took along public address systems over which youths delivered emotional funeral orations. Women wept aloud and men were moved to tears on hearing them.

Some incensed youths dragged along effigies of the assassins and then incinerated them.

Last Post, Gun Salute

The Last Post was sounded by every minibus and every van resonating their horns in harmony for two minutes.

The Gun Salute was executed by the young militants, on the day of her death and on the day of her funeral, by detonating an explosive every thirty minutes, reverberations from which punctuated the otherwise eerie silence of Eelam.

Even as Mrs Gandhi's cortege arrived at its final riverside destination, the human rivers in silent march in Eelam were pouring into their respective destinations — the venues of condolence meetings.

Temple services

As the flames leapt high in the air at the banks of the Jumna from camphor, ghee and sandalwood, engulfing the mortal remains of Mrs Gandhi, in temples throughout Eelam, jets of yellow flames shot up from camphor *aaradhanais* at services held in her memory.

The temple bells that pealed in a crescendo for thirty minutes throughout Eelam to mark her transformation from ashes to ashes, seemed to echo and re-echo the immortal words of Sage Valluvar that *'a help rendered in time of need, however small it may be, should be regarded as much larger than the earth itself'*.

It was therefore not surprising that the citizens' committees of Eelam appealed to the Indian High Commissioner to arrange for a part of the ashes to be sent to Eelam to pay the respects of the Tamil Nation and then to sprinkle on the shores of Keerimalai — for the Nation had gone through the processes of a funeral, having staged a 'Hamlet' without the Prince of Denmark.

'Adopted children'

Hundreds of poems were penned by poets to pay homage to Mrs Gandhi and either published in newspapers or printed and distributed free to the people, and out of them came a moving tribute from a nine-year-old Tamil-speaking Muslim schoolboy — Mohammed Naleem, which captured the stark reality and the anxiety of the Tamil Nation (*'Eela Nadu'*, *5.11.84*):

"... Mount Everest you were
Filling our hearts with succour.
Oh, our most beloved Indira,
Departed from us you are
Leaving us in despair —
The children you adopted!

A tower of strength you were
To people with no rights,
Orphaned we are
with no saviour in sight! ..."

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'TAMILS, VIRTUAL PRISONERS IN THEIR HOMES'

'The Tamil areas of Sri Lanka have been converted into almost a concentration camp in which all Tamil people have become virtual prisoners. This is the effect of the latest round of draconian measures announced by the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security,' the Human Rights Council of the Standing Committee of Tamils (SCOT-HRC) stated in a press statement released on December 3.

The statement added:

'The measures announced include the creation of a 'no-go area' along the northern and eastern coast of the island; ban on the free ownership and use of all private vehicles including cars, minibuses, motorcycles and bicycles; declaration of the whole of the northern Tamil Jaffna district as a security zone; prohibition of all rail and other forms of travel to and from Jaffna district without special permits; rationing on fuels; restriction on free movement of people within the Tamil areas and the requirement that no one except registered householders shall live in their homes.

'By any standards, these measures are extremely draconian.

No-go area

'The 'no-go area' extends to 100 metres inland from the coastline of the entire northern and eastern provinces. The thousands living within this zone have been required to move inland, thus creating a massive refugee problem overnight. The government has not made any arrangements for alternative accommodation. The worst hit are the most vulnerable families of fishermen who depend on the sea for their livelihood and the substantial majority of them are very poor indeed. They have been forced to evacuate their homes, leaving behind all their worldly possessions and overnight have become destitute and homeless.

Under military siege

'For the last few months, the Sri Lankan navy has been shelling coastal villages with a view to terrorising the population to abandon their homes and many of them in fact did. But they returned to their homes — because they had no other place to go — when the shelling abated. Now the government, under the pretext of an imaginary threatened invasion from India, has proceeded to declare the 'no-go' zone, thereby enabling the entire Tamil people and their areas to be encircled and put under military siege.

'The so-called invasion threat by 4,000 Tamil guerrillas from India is a pure invention by the Sri Lankan regime in order to justify to the world the unprecedented measures it has imposed to terrorise the Tamil people. In spite of the repeated categorical denials of the Indian government, the Sri Lankan government is determined to carry on this well-orchestrated propaganda of an imaginary threat to put into effect a long-laid plan, conceived and prepared with foreign assistance not excluding the Israeli intelligence service.

Naked military offensive

'It is no secret that the Sri Lankan government was to some extent held back from enforcing a total military solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka by the concern displayed by the Indian government and Mrs Indira Gandhi before her assassination. Now the government of Sri Lanka would appear to have taken advantage of her assassination and the present preoccupation of the Indian leaders in their elections to launch this massive military offensive against the Tamil people as a whole. It hopes to liquidate all resistance from the Tamil side before the Indian elections are over. As a cover for this naked military offensive, the government has manufactured scare stories of "threatened invasions", "fleets of boats carrying Tamil terrorists being repulsed", and wildly exaggerated accounts of "terrorist attacks".

'To act against Tamil militants who engage in violence is one thing. But to impose such stringent measures against a whole section of the people is another. Restrictions on the use of private vehicles, including bicycles, in areas where there is no efficiently functioning transport service and the imposition of a daily curfew from 4.00p.m. to 8.00a.m. are calculated to prevent the Tamil people from going about their ordinary day to day life and turn them into virtual prisoners in their own homes.

The measures are so stringent that every section of the people would be affected. Peasants, schoolchildren, the sick and the infirm, all would appear to need special permits to move about, go to their farms, schools, hospitals or local shops. The Sri Lankan security forces are held in such fear that the Tamil people would hardly dare go to the military authorities to obtain permits.

Already the Tamil areas are suffering from an acute shortage of food and medical supplies. This is partly due to government policy of preventing movement of supplies and substantially because of the fact that farmers are unable to go to the farms to cultivate, fishermen are prevented from going to the sea, and shops and markets remain closed most of the time. The result is one that is apparently anticipated and hoped for by an inhuman government — destitution and starvation of a people.

'Never in the history of any democratic country have such inhuman and draconian measures been imposed against a section of its people even in times of war. Under the pretext of countering 'terrorism' the government is collectively punishing the Tamil people.

'These inhuman measures should shock the conscience of the civilised world and there ought to be a universal demand that the Sri Lankan government withdraw these measures forthwith.'

CATHOLIC VIEW NOT FOR SINHALESE!

The Bishops Conference of Sri Lanka, after 25 years of ethnic violence (since 1956), came out with a statement of its stand on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka 'Towards Rebuilding of Sri Lanka Nation'.

The statement was prepared by the Bishops after the July 1983 holocaust with the help of Father Tissa Balasuriya and released on 10th June 1984. The original was in English.

Soon after its release, all the Bishops left for Rome with copies of this statement. In Rome, the Pope praised their efforts with regard to their stand for human rights.

At home, the pastoral was translated immediately into Tamil and serialised in the Catholic weekly 'Pathukavalan'.

Although all the Bishops, including the Sinhalese Bishops, had put their signatures to it and enjoyed the praise of the Pope, some secular power seems to have called them to one side and asked them to be more 'prudent' and less foolish and wanted the statement not to get into the hands and minds of the masses.

At first, the excuse for not disseminating it among the Sinhalese Catholics was some difficulty in translation, and then expediency.

Has the Catholic Church surrendered its conscience to the temporal Supremo in Sri Lanka? Or is it that the Papal authority has been superceded by Presidential diktat?

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SRI LANKA'S "WAR PSYCHOSIS"

The war psychosis built up to a deafening crescendo by President Junius Jayawardene seems to have ended up anti-climax.

General Vernon Walters, President Reagan's roving ambassador at large and ex-Deputy Director of the CIA, made his second visit to Sri Lanka in twelve months, reportedly in response to an urgent appeal to the USA by the Sri Lankan Government to discuss the so-called worsening security situation in northern Sri Lanka and the possibility of obtaining 'high technology arms'.

It was noteworthy that there were 'inspired leaks' to the Press from 'diplomatic sources', both in Colombo and Washington of this latest visit of General Walters even before he had boarded the plane for Colombo, in stark contrast to his first and clandestine mission to Colombo in November 1983 which was described as a courtesy call to have a cup of tea with President Jayawardene.

No sooner had he finished sipping his Sri Lankan brew, Walters was found to have brewed another conspiracy for his alma mater, producing the Israel-Sri Lanka and Israel-USA agreements that paved the way for Mossad to sneak into Sri Lanka.

Machiavellian motives

It appears that the purpose of the visit of Walters and the 'inspired leaks' had three objectives in mind.

Firstly, Washington wanted Rajiv Gandhi to know that the secondary deposits from that poorly differentiated cancer by the name of 'US vital interests' extended up to even as far as Sri Lanka. In doing so, they were also indulging in an act of kite-flying to gauge the strength and weaknesses of Rajiv.

Secondly, Colombo wanted to make full use of the war psychosis based on calumny, distortion and fabrication of facts that it had taken great pains to whip up, to wrest as much as possible arms aid from the USA, in particular sophisticated modern weaponry which were capable of homing in on their targets. What Sri Lanka's uniformed vandals lacked by way of courage, skill and experience, President Jayawardene et al thought could be offset by possession of superior military hardware.

Thirdly, both Colombo and Washington wanted psychological pressure to be brought on TULF leader Mr Amirthalingam to accept whatever crumbs that were going to be offered to him at the last session of the All Party Conference (APC). The clamping down of draconian emergency regulations in the North which had in effect taken away **every clause** of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, first proclaimed on December 10, 1948 and the arbitrary arrest and detention of around 1,500 innocent Tamil youth were meant to annihilate Amirthalingam's morale completely and to pressurise him into surrendering the rights and convictions of the Tamil nation at the RTC.

To what extent have these Machiavellian objectives succeeded?

Rajiv's rebuke

If Washington was trying to nudge Rajiv Gandhi gently about its vested interests in Sri Lanka, the tempo of Rajiv's reaction was quite different. Even as the Colombo conclave was in progress, India's 'no -nonsense leader' Rajiv Gandhi detonated from Delhi what was widely acknowledged as the 'strongest statement issued so far' by India on the Tamil problem, warning the Sri Lankan government and its armed forces about the indiscriminate killings of Tamil civilians in Sri Lanka.

And when President Reagan's special envoy flew into New Delhi after meeting President Jayawardene, he was not entertained to an audience with Mr Gandhi and had to be content with sitting down with Foreign Office men to hear home truths. The conclusion after the Delhi discussions that 'a military solution was not the answer to the Tamil problems in Sri Lanka' was remarkably brief in contrast to the volume of the pompous leak that preceded Walters' visit to Colombo and Delhi.

Rajiv had proved his strength to Washington. He was not going to be rattled by anyone. He was not going to brook any nonsense from any quarter.

Lalith's Churchillian rhetoric

The concurrence of General Walters with the Delhi conclusion dismissing a military solution must have come as a stab in the back to Lalith Athulathmudali who had only recently been indulging in Churchillian war rhetoric, declaring, 'we shall fight them on the beaches!'

Eric Silver reported from Colombo to the 'Guardian', Thursday (December 10, 1984):

The National Security Minister, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, came close to acknowledging that the fight is on now against the northern Tamils as a whole, and not just the gunmen, when he asked in Parliament last month: 'Who is a terrorist?' Is it the person who uses the gun? Or is he also not a terrorist who accompanies a terrorist with a gun? Is he also not a terrorist who gives a house to a person who has a gun and who wants to kill? Is he also not a terrorist who watches the movement of the army and then goes and tells a terrorist: do not go that way, the army is around.'

Colombo's attempt to bring pressure on the USA to bolster its military arsenal does not seem to have produced much result, at least for the time being. Colombo was oozing with such confidence that it would succeed in wresting an arms deal that even before the talks began the state-controlled 'Daily News' had started ranting and raving over President Jayawardene's 'shopping list'.

David Graves, reporting from Colombo to the 'Daily Telegraph' had the following to say, (December 12, 1984):

'The United States has refused to give a firm commitment to supply arms to Sri Lanka to fight the rebel Tamil separatists in the north of the island, diplomatic sources in Colombo said yesterday.

'Washington has also told the Sri Lankan government it is "unhappy" about the activities of security forces after repeated allegations of indiscriminate killing of Tamil civilians . . .

'Although President Jayawardene presented an extensive "shopping list" for arms and equipment to General Bernard Walters, President Reagan's roving Ambassador-at-large, during his visit to Colombo earlier this week, the envoy refused to give any commitment to supply them, the sources said."

As much as Washington feels that it is within its legitimate rights and vital interests to maintain an inventory of the military hardware of neighbouring countries like Cuba and Nicaragua and to ensure that they do not exceed in quality and quantity what is reasonably required for their defence, likewise there is no reason why India should not have every right to keep a watchful eye on the arms flow into Sri Lanka.

Bullying Amirthalingam

The third objective of the Colombo enclave is to bully Amirthalingam into submission at the APC. At the time

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– SECOND VISIT OF EX-CIA BOSS

this column is being written the marathon 61-hour curfew is on in the Tamil areas and Amirthalingam has flown into Colombo from Madras to attend the APC. He is reported to have complained to President Jayawardene about the grave food shortages in the devastated Tamil areas and the President, having pinched the child, is now in the process of rocking the cradle by promising to send dry rations and food stamps for distribution.

It is very clear that President Jayawardene is intent on keeping this diabolical farce of political dialogue going on to throw dust in the eyes of the world and to buy time to achieve a military solution and Amirthalingam's continued participation is only giving credibility to the sinister and dangerous fraud that Jayawardene is indulging in.

Sri Lankan Goebbels

In the process of building up a war psychosis, the Sri Lankan government employed Goebbelsian tactics of flooding the media with planned disinformation about 4,000 guerrillas waiting on the South Indian coast to invade Sri Lanka, the flotilla of 18 boats with 180 men that attempted the crossing and were chased back by air force helicopters (that practised chasing and not killing!), January 14th — the D-day for declaration of Eelam and the choice of civilian targets by guerrillas.

While dismissing these silly claims as balderdash, even though it is the right type of sensationalism that would be picked up by news hungry media men, the claim of civilian targets merits a close analysis.

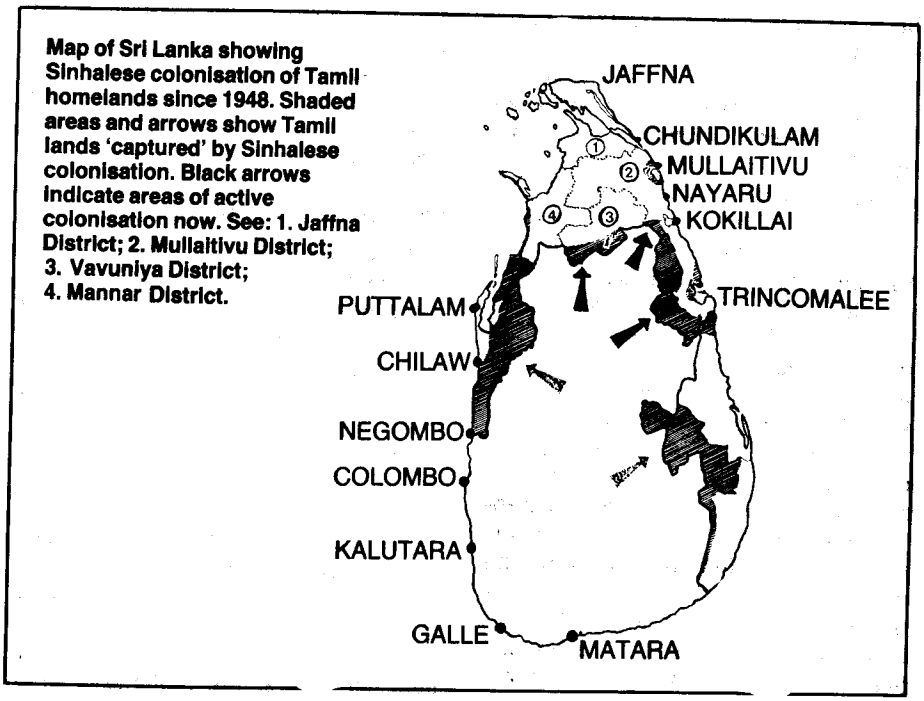
The guerrilla raids on the Dollar and Kent farms in the Vavuniya district and the incidents at the fishing hamlets of Nayaru and Kokillai in the Mullaitivu district, were exploited to the full to bolster this disinformation campaign whipped up by the government.

Infiltration of Tamil areas

It is no secret that successive governments in Sri Lanka were consistently and systematically involved in mass colonisation of Tamil homelands with Sinhalese people with deliberate intention of altering the ethnic composition of those areas. With the arrival of Mossad and the 'agricultural advisers' from Israel, the expertise of West Bank settlements was made available to the colonisation-bent Sinhalese rulers.

The 'Saturday Review' had reported as far back as September 8, 1984:

> **'The Sri Lankan government's intentions ought to be clear as a crystal, namely to infiltrate Tamil areas with Sinhalese settlements using the methods and techniques of the Israelis . . . so the Israelis have come not only to boost the government's anti-terrorist drive but also for a more sinister purpose of imparting expert advice in the techniques of organising new settlements to steal a march on the Tamil homelands . . .**



Map of Sri Lanka showing Sinhalese colonisation of Tamil homelands since 1948. Shaded areas and arrows show Tamil lands 'captured' by Sinhalese colonisation. Black arrows indicate areas of active colonisation now. See: 1. Jaffna District; 2. Mullaitivu District; 3. Vavuniya District; 4. Mannar District.

Colonisation of Vavuniya

The thrust of the state-sponsored Sinhalese colonisation was aimed at the crucial Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts. Vavuniya was crucial in that it was part of the traditional Tamil homeland of 'Vanni', once ruled over by the great Pandara Vanniyan, a Tamil king who had put up a heroic resistance against the European coloniser.

Vavuniya marked the border of the territory of the Tamils. By changing the ethnic composition of Vavuniya, the borders of Eelam were going to be pushed back. In fact, in 1980, the government had announced the creation of a 'new Vavuniya district' by annexing the existing (Tamil) Vavuniya district to three Sinhalese Assistant Government Agents' divisions in the adjoining Anuradhapura district. The new Vavuniya district would have thus had a Sinhalese majority. The plan was shelved at that time due to the protest of the TULF but was being pursued again with great vigour and planning since the July 1983 pogrom.

A large number of Sinhalese employees were being recruited to the offices of the District Minister and Government Agents of Vavuniya. A move was under way to shift the office of the District Minister of Vavuniya to Madawachchi which was to be one of the new Sinhalese divisions to be absorbed into the new Vavuniya district.

Likewise, plans were under way to shift the office of the Government Agent to a new Sinhalese division earmarked for annexation to the new Vavuniya district.

Terrorist label for Gandhiyam

Alongside these covert plans for Vavuniya there was already set in motion a more overt and ruthless form of colonisation. In the wake of the pogroms of 1977, 1981 and 1983, thousands of Tamil refugees, in particular Indian workers who had been uprooted from the tea and rubber plantations, had been settled in several farms in the Vavuniya district.

This refugee rehabilitation programme had been mainly carried out by the Gandhiyam movement, whose work had been recognised and funded by several international bodies like Oxfam, World Vision International, Asia Fund for Human Development, NOVIB of Holland, CARE and several other agencies from the USA, UK and Australia.

Over the last two years, the armed forces have pillaged and plundered Gandhiyam property, arrested its live wire — Dr S. Rajasunderam (and later had him clubbed to death in prison) and terrorised and threw out the Tamil

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refugee settlers. In their place they brought in Sinhalese IRCs (Island Reconvicted Criminals) and settled them. Many of these criminals so settled belonged to the private armies of some minister or other and were de facto members of the 4,000-strong fourth wing of the armed forces announced by the National Security Minister earlier this year and which was to be mobilised during moments of 'internal strife'.

The Dollar and Kent farms in the Vavuniya district were two such farms that had belonged to the Gandhiyam movement. The criminals colonised in these farms had been armed by the army and had carried out a consistent campaign of terror against adjoining Tamil villages with the full connivance of the army and were responsible for the hijacking of a passenger coach in Vavuniya in August this year and for the rape, plunder and murder of the Tamil commuters travelling in it. These are the so-called civilian targets attacked and destroyed by the Tamil guerrillas last month. It was to protect this type of Sinhalese civilian that Athulathmudali had stuck out his Oxford tongue and corrosive ways and declared war on the Tamil nation.

Lying with impudence

The Sri Lankan government followed up its Kent and Dollar farm sob stories with fraudulent disinformation about the violence that had erupted in the fishing villages of Nayaru and Kokillai in the Mullaitivu district. This is how Donovan Moldrich reported it for 'The Times' (3.12.84) from Colombo:

'The government last night drastically reduced the figures it had earlier released over the number of Sinhalese fishermen allegedly killed at Nayaru and Kokillai, two villages 10 miles north of Mullaitivu, and said the total murdered by Tamil separatist rebels was only 11.

'Yesterday morning, Dr Wickrema Weerasooria, chairman of the media committee, said 27 had been killed at Nayaru and 30 at Kokillai. In the afternoon, the state-owned radio said 29 had died at Nayaru and 30 at Kokillai, making a total of 59.

'Then, last night, the same radio said the total killed in both villages was only 11 . . .'

That clearly proves that Sri Lanka's despotic regime not only tells lies but tells them with utter impudence and immorality and that it was hell-bent on whipping up a war psychosis.

The roots of the violence at Kokillai and Nayaru had its origins in the state of tension prevailing in these fishing villages as a result of the ruthless eviction of the inhabitant Tamil fishermen of these areas by the government and colonising them with Sinhalese fishermen from the south west and the south of Sri Lanka. It was an ipso facto act of violence that arose amidst them and had nothing to do with Tamil guerrillas.

The state-sponsored colonisation technique employed in the fishing villages of the Mullaitivu district merits closer analysis.

Migrant fishermen

The fishing villages in the Mullaitivu district are situated along the North East coastal belt stretching from Kokillai to Chundikulam and include Nayaru, Cemmalai, Silavaththai, Mullaitivu, Valayan Madam, Ambalavan Pokkanai and Maathalan. From time immemorial these have been the traditional fishing areas of the poor Tamil villagers resident there. Sri Lanka experiences the North East Monsoon winds from December to February and the South West Monsoon from May to September.

During the months when the SW Monsoon blows, the Sinhalese South West coast becomes unsuitable for fishing due to the turbulent seas and the Sinhalese fishermen from those areas, in particular Puttalam, Chilaw, Negombo, Colombo and Kalutara, have traditionally migrated for three months to the North East coast. They were welcomed by the Tamil fishermen, put up temporary huts along the coastline and carried out fishing, respecting the unwritten code of ethics among fishermen, such as not to invade spots where permanent fishermen of the area operate. It used to be a good example of inter-communal coexistence.

Everything went fine till the 1970s, till the chauvinist Sinhalese politicians saw in this method of migrant fishing a beach-head to colonise this strategically important coastal area with Sinhalese fishermen and reverse the ethnic balance of this overwhelmingly Tamil populated homeland.

By this time, the nearly 25 years of peaceful negotiations, political bargaining and co-operation by the Tamil political leaders with the Sinhalese rulers for a greater say in government functions and for a reasonable degree of regional autonomy based on the principle of regional councils to run the day-to-day affairs of the traditional Tamil homelands in the North and the East, while remaining loyal and faithful to the government in Colombo, were proving futile. With the general economic chaos and unemployment, the Tamils were being singled out for more and more discrimination at all levels of the state structure.

The cry for the re-establishment of the de facto state of Eelam as it had existed at the time the whole of Sri Lanka (known as Ceylon at that time) went to the European colonisers, had begun.

Opposed as they were to any form of equality of status to the Tamils, these chauvinist Sinhalese politicians embarked on a process of eroding the traditional Tamil areas claimed by Eelam with the ulterior motive of claiming them as Sinhalese areas if and when such an Eelam became a reality. The North and East of Sri Lanka was a geographically continuous land mass and there was also ethnic contiguity of the Tamils inhabiting these areas.

The Mullaitivu district formed the narrowest belt of ethnic contiguity, virtually an isthmus, between the North and the East. Massive state-sponsored colonisation of the Eastern Tamil homelands with Sinhalese had gone on since 1948 and though Tamils were still a majority in the East, if the isthmus of Mullaitivu could be taken over by a Sinhalese transplantation the Sinhalese could not only bisect the Tamil homelands but also claim that the East could not belong to Eelam because of its significant Sinhalese minority.

Migrants become encroachers

The Sinhalese thrust of colonisation into the isthmus of Mullaitivu thus began. Sinhalese chauvinistic politicians with a say in the SW coastal belts pushed the migrant Sinhalese fishermen from these areas to settle down permanently along the NE coast, to encroach upon crown lands in these areas, and in addition to fighting, to embark on planting agricultural crops in the crown lands so misappropriated.

They were promised subsequent ownership of the encroached lands, government loans to establish themselves and also protection by the armed forces. This colonisation was in full swing when, in 1976, the TULF, the party that had won almost all the Tamil seats in Parliament, formally adopted a resolution committing itself to the achievement of a sovereign, independent, socialist state of Eelam.

That heralded an acceleration of the thrust of Sinhalese colonisation of Mullaitivu. In addition to the fishermen colonisers from the SW, now Sinhalese fishermen from even the deep South, in particular from Balapitiya, Hikkaduwa, Galle and even Matara, were brought into Mullaitivu. And along with them came a new class of fishermen to the NE coast, the fishing mudalalis (the capitalist fisherman who owns fleets of boats and fishing equipment and who has under him several wage-earning fishermen, whose

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TEACHERS UNION PROTESTS AGAINST GOVERNMENT ACTION

Mr H.N. Fernando, the General Secretary of the Ceylon Teachers Union, the majority of whose members are Sinhalese, issued the following press statement protesting against the latest draconian measures imposed by the government against the Tamil people:

This government which has been crushing the democratic rights and squeezing the standard of living of the people from its very inception, has demonstrated that it is now marching towards a naked military occupation in the Northern Peninsula, with the imposing of restrictions on the movements of the civilian population in the Jaffna district.

Putting the most inhuman Pass Law in South Africa to shame, the government of Junius Richard Jayawardene has totally banned the use of private vehicles including private buses and curtailed the movements of the civilian population to two hours in the morning from 6.00 to 8.00 and two hours in the afternoon from 2.00 to 4.00, apart from imposing curfew from 4.00pm to 6.00am. Notwithstanding this, the government has declared a stretch in the sea in the North and the East totally prohibited.

All these, we are compelled to state have completely jeopardised the very existence of the civilian population in the North. The economic life will be brought to a standstill and the civilian population will be pushed to starvation as most will be deprived of their means to earn a living.

Under house arrest

Listing of occupants in the households and prohibiting the right to entertain anyone not listed virtually breaks up family life and on the other hand the government, in effect, with all the newly imposed restrictions, has brought the entire Tamil population in the North under house arrest. This is a gross violation of the Human Rights Charter adopted by the United Nations to which Sri Lanka is also a signatory.

We therefore wish to lay emphasis on the fact that these schemas of this government are not restricted to the North itself. The Trade Union offices that were sealed off during the 1980 July strike still remain as they are. There is no necessity to write out the long list of opposition meetings that were broken up by government sponsored goon-squads. There was no shame on the part of the government to employ its goondas to quieten the judiciary. This government that tried to implicate the Left organisations with the '83 Tamil pogrom is now trying to make the public believe that the Left is now in tow with the 'insurgents' through multi-coloured posters. The Prevention of Terrorism Act that was brought to force at the expense of the North is now being openly used to repress the Left organisations. The repression begun in the North will eventually march on to the South.

We therefore call upon all democratic-loving organisations and individuals to join together in totally condemning these obnoxious, repressive and undemocratic laws of this totalitarian government while taking this opportunity to warn every organisation and individual that this will only be the opening of a new chapter that will bring the entire country under a bloody dictatorship.

JAFFNA G.A. DETAILS ARMY ATROCITIES TO PRESIDENT

The Acting Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr M. Panchalingam, met the Sri Lankan President recently and submitted details of excesses committed by the security forces within the Jaffna district from July this year. The G.A. also submitted a list of complaints presented by affected Tamil civilians, along with photographs.

The names and other particulars of those who were killed and injured during the indiscriminate shooting by the army at Kannathiddy, Jaffna, the details of the 40 houses at Achchuveli, 44 houses at Valalai, and 22 houses at Urelu which were set on fire and destroyed by the army and the names of those killed in these places were also presented by the G.A. to the President.

Further, the G.A. furnished details of complaints from residents of Jaffna whose jewellery and other valuables were stolen by army personnel under the pretext of carrying out search operations. Among the various complaints, one related how a Hindu priest (a vegetarian) was forced to eat fish by some army men at Mathagal.

40 TAMIL DETAINEES KILLED IN ARMY CAMP

Forty Tamil political detainees held in the Vavuniya army camp in northern Sri Lanka were shot and killed by the army on December 3. Their dead bodies were burnt by the army. This coldblooded slaughter was carried out in apparent reprisal for the death of a single soldier in a shoot-out between army personnel and a group of Tamil militants in Vavuniya many miles from the army camp on the same day.

Murderous minions

Predictably, the National Security Minister, Mr Athulathmudali, came to the rescue of his murderous minions with a story that the Tamil detainees were killed in the course of an attempt to escape. How all the attempted escapees were killed and none survived with injuries is a question which the Minister would never be able to answer because the truth was that all the Tamil detainees were deliberately shot and killed.

DEATH THREATS AGAINST MINISTERS

A series of death threats have been received by several of the Sri Lankan Cabinet Ministers, according to a report in the 'ISLAND' of 18.11.84. In the wake of these threats, security measures for Ministers have been stepped up.

The most intriguing aspect of this report is that the signatories to these threatening letters are a group identifying themselves as members of the Sri Lankan security forces.

COMMANDOS TO BE MOVED

The police commandos who were based near Hartley College in Jaffna district are to be moved out. This decision was made at a meeting between the Jaffna Military Co-ordinating Officer, the Government Agent and education officials held recently.

The students of Hartley College have been boycotting classes demanding the removal of the police commandos following the burning of the College Library and science laboratory by army personnel. With the removal of the police commandos, there is now the prospect of college attendance returning to normal.

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WHAT INDIRA GANDHI MEANT TO SRI LANKAN TAMILS

By A. Amirthalingam

The cruel hands of the assassins have removed the only shield against genocide that the Sri Lankan Tamils had in the person of Indira Gandhi. This sentence sums up the deep feeling of loss felt by the Tamils in every nook and corner of Sri Lanka. In the terrible months of June, July and August 1983, when the planned attack on Tamils, started in Trincomalee in June, reached a crescendo in the last week of July, the Sri Lanka Government failed to take any action to stop the murder, arson, looting and rape unleashed against Tamils and their property. There was not even a word of sympathy to the victims from the President and his Ministers but there was a telephone call to the President, Mr J. R. Jayewardene, from New Delhi on July 28, which jolted the Sri Lanka Government out of its callous disregard of its elementary duty of maintaining law and order and safeguarding the lives and property of the Tamil minority. Indira Gandhi followed this solicitous telephone conversation with sending her Minister for External Affairs, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao to Colombo the same day. It was only after this action by the Prime Minister of India that orders to shoot the murderers and looters were given to the Sri Lanka armed forces and attempts were made to bring the situation gradually under control.

Intense awareness

I had the privilege of being in touch with Indira Gandhi from 1979 when she was out of power and acquainting her with the situation that was developing in Sri Lanka against the Tamils. From the very first meeting my wife and I had with her, I was impressed with the deep knowledge of the facts and the intense awareness of the problem that she had. At the several subsequent meetings my colleagues and I had with her, we were amazed that in the midst of the multifarious problems she had to cope with, Indira Gandhi could find the time to learn precisely every detail of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka and remember it. When talking to her about these problems one got the impression of dealing with a computer-like mind which could store all relevant information and pull them out whenever required.

The Nehrus always enjoyed a special place in the affection of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. From the early thirties, pictures of Nehru with his wife Kamala and his daughter Indira standing on either side used to adorn thousands of Tamil homes in Sri Lanka. At a time when plantation Tamil workers were disorganised and were the targets of virulent anti-Indian propaganda by Sinhalese leaders like A.E. Goonasinghe, it was Nehru who went to Sri Lanka (Ceylon then) and organised them into a powerful trade union called the Ceylon Indian Congress, the precursor of the present Ceylon Workers Congress.

Long before Independence, he visited Ceylon to discuss with the then leader of the Sinhalese, D.S. Senanayake, the future status and rights of Tamils of Indian origin. In 1948, when the citizenship laws of Ceylon were passed, Nehru, as Prime Minister of India, refused to agree to the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act which was calculated to decitizenise the plantataion Tamils and thereby weaken the political strength of the Tamils in the island as a whole.

Throughout the stewardship of Nehru, the Indian Government maintained that the Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka had to be given full citizenship rights and absorbed in that country. Unfortunately, after his death it was during the premiership of Lal Bahadur Shastri that the pact for the repatriation of 525,000 plantation Tamils was signed. The farsightedness and genuine concern of Nehru for the Tamils in Sri Lanka were passed on to his daughter Indira Gandhi. The first open expression of concern came in June 1983, when the Government of India indicated to the Sri Lanka Government its concern over Emergency Regulation 15 (A), permitting the police and the armed forces to dispose of the the bodies of persons killed by the security forces without judicial inquiry or post-mortem examination. It was pointed out that this regulation amounted to an open licence to the security forces to kill Tamils with impunity.

Concern of everyone

This innocuous indication of concern over violation of human rights provoked a howl of protest in the Sri Lanka press and from the Government benches in the Sri Lanka Parliament. They called it interference by India in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. In one of the last speeches I made in Parliament I had to point out that human rights violations in any country are the concern of everyone and if Sri Lanka could protest against violation of the rights of the coloured people in South Africa why could not India protest against inhuman treatment of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The holocaust against the Tamils in July 1983 followed on the heels of the promulgation of these regulations and India's role became inevitable. There was only one leader in the world who had the courage and the moral stature to call upon the Sri Lanka government to put a stop to the genocide being perpetrated against the Tamils. It was this action by Indira Gandhi that saved the lives of thousands of Tamils. There was no question of any overbearing conduct on her part. The quiet dignity and the moral stature of Indira Gandhi were such that her offer of good offices was readily accepted by Mr Jayewardene.

Her deep sympathy

It was in this background that I went to New Delhi on August 14 and was privileged to discuss the whole problem fully with the Prime Minister for over an hour. Her deep sympathy for the sufferings of the people and genuine concern for their future gave solace and soothed my agitated mind. In spite of the deep feeling there was no question of any hasty action or any attitude of hectoring towards the Sri Lanka Government. I was made to realise that she was conscious of the delicacies involved in dealing with another state.

At the same time I felt that the moral authority of a world statesman will act as an effective shield for the Tamil people. She knew every detail concerning the distribution of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka and the centres of violence against them and had already throught out possible lines of solving the problem. She had told Mr H.W. Jayewardene, brother of the President and his special emissary, that district councils would not meet the aspirations of the Tamil people and that the Sri Lanka Government should go beyond them. I had the feeling that the fate of the Tamils was safe in her hands and we also accepted her good offices and agreed to attend the All-Party Conference and negotiate with the Sri Lanka President, contrary to our earlier decision not to.

Although the process of negotiation has got protracted and Mr Jayewardene has gone back on various matters agreed to with Indira Gandhi and her special envoy Mr G. Parthasarathi, so

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'JUNIUS, YOUR ANALOGY IS PREPOSTEROUS'

— N. SHANMUGATHASAN

To say the least, I was amused to read of the analogy that the President has sought to draw between the recent unhappy events in India that followed the assassination of Indira Gandhi and those events that took place in Sri Lanka in July 1983.

To draw a parallel between the feelings aroused as a result of the assassination of a popular Prime Minister like Indira Gandhi with those aroused in Sri Lanka by the killing of 13 soldiers in a popular guerrilla struggle against a government which has, for years, been using the army to harass and kill innocent Tamils is simply preposterous.

What happened in India after the assassination of Indira Gandhi was entirely spontaneous. Nobody could have anticipated the assassination. On the contrary, the July events in Sri Lanka were entirely premeditated and pre-planned. Even the government admitted that it was organised

ON his return from New Delhi after attending the funeral and Indira Gandhi, the Sri Lankan President, Junius Jayawardene, said in a statement:

'I thought to myself how similar were the events that followed the killing in Jaffna of 13 Sinhalese in July 1983 by Tamil terrorists, which resulted in the rioting and criminal acts in Colombo and other parts of the island.

The Sri Lanka government and the whole Sinhala race were blamed and are still being blamed unfairly for those unfortunate happenings which were committed by a few Sinhalese.

I hope and trust that there will be no repetition of these events in Sri Lanka, India or anywhere else.

All nations that love peace and democratic freedoms must co-operate to eradicate terrorism and its aftermath — rioting between racial groups.

Indians and Sri Lankans have much to learn from what has happened. We should prevent the repetition of the actions of some of our countrymen; we look forward to working together with India to eradicate terrorism in the future.

In India, some Sikhs are agitating for a separate state, Kalistan. In Sri Lanka, some Tamils are doing the same, seeking to establish 'Eelam

Simply an excuse

The leaders behind the mobs had electoral lists showing where the Tamils lived. Just as in 1982 the killing of an Israeli diplomat in London was the excuse for the pre-planned Israeli invasion of Lebanon, so also the killing of 13 soldiers in Jaffna on July 23 was simply an excuse for the planned pogrom unleashed on the Tamils.

In Sri Lanka, the armed forces either looked the other way or participated in the communal violence against the Tamils. No such thing happened in India.

In Sri Lanka, when the President appeared on TV after four days, he did not utter a word of condemnation of the communal violence against the Tamils, nor did he call a halt to the anti-Tamil terror. Instead, he justified the action of the Sinhala mobs as a 'natural reaction' and went on to placate them by promising legislation against parties and organisations that advocated a separate state.

On the other hand, the new Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi immediately went on the air and on TV to call upon the Hindus 'to stop this madness' and went on to recall the part played by the Sikhs in the Indian independence movement.

It is wrong to suggest that the victim in India was a Hindu. Indira Gandhi was not shot because she was a Hindu, but because she was the Prime Minister who ordered the troops in to the Holy Shrine of the Sikhs. In the same way, the soldiers who were killed in Jaffna on July 23 were not killed because they were Buddhists, but because they were soldiers who had gone there to kill.

Foreign assistance?

The President seems to complain of foreign assistance. Is that not true of most other similar movements? Does not Sri Lanka recognise the PLO, whose openly declared aim is to liberate Palestine by armed struggle? Is it not true that the bulk of the money and the arms of the IRA are sent to them by Irish-Americans?

Why does the President not place before the people of Sri Lanka the better example of Great Britain where, despite the assassination of the Queen's uncle, Lord Louis Mountbatten, and the near-successful attempt at assassinating almost the entire British Cabinet, there was no anti-Irish pogrom in Britain?

The demand for Kalistan by the Sikhs in India is a religious demand. The Sikhs are not a race. They belong to one religion. But, they are all Punjabis who have a separate state, in fact, two states. It is the same illogical demand, in terms of modern political thinking, as that which led to the creation of Pakistan and Israel. But, the demand for Eelam — irrespective of whether we agree with it or not — is a secular demand for a separate state for the Tamils who are a race.

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long as she lived, the Tamil people of Sri Lanka felt that she would somehow or other work out their salvation. Her sudden death makes them feel orphaned and face their future with trepidation. They are yet hopeful that her son, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, with the advice of veterans like Mr G. Parthasarathi, Mr Narasimha Rao and Mr M.K. Rasgotra (External Affairs Secretary) will continue the same policy and achieve what she would have achieved for them. Such is the deep faith the Tamils of Sri Lanka had in Indira Gandhi and continue to have even after her death.

GOVERNMENT STOPS USE OF TRANSMITTERS

The Sri Lankan government has decided to suspend the use of transmitters and VHF communications now in use in government corporations and private institutions.

This decision has been prompted by the successful radio broadcasts made by some Tamil militant groups by tapping various frequencies. Radio links, VHF communications and paging systems are used by various government corporations and private sector establishments in their day-to-day operations.

Once the suspension is effected, the government hopes to monitor the other services in operation and locate 'pirate stations'.

Broadcasting news, messages

A Tamil militant group has been broadcasting news and messages in Tamil, Sinhalese and English for the last few months. The government's attempts to locate or obstruct these broadcasts have proved a failure so far.

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OPEN LETTER (2) TO THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Dear Mr Athulathmudali,

On your taking up appointment as Minister of National Security, you pompously proclaimed that you would promptly resign your portfolio if the police or security forces acted in an indisciplined manner. Since your appointment, there have been more rampages by the security forces in the Tamil areas than at any time in the past. Hundreds of houses and shop premises have been burnt and destroyed. The Hartley College library and science laboratory were burnt down.

The Jaffna Multi-Purpose Co-operative Store with several million rupees worth of goods was set ablaze and destroyed. The government itself admitted that during one night alone, 123 homes and shops were set alight by a rampaging group of army men in Mannar. In Valvettiturai, Vavuniya, Point Pedro, Chunnakam, Atchuveli, Kokkuvil, Urelu, Mathagal, Jaffna city and in almost the entire northern province, the security forces have been engaged in an unmitigated campaign of murder and arson since your appointment.

Livelihoods and homes

Thousands of Tamils have lost their livelihood and their homes. Yet, contrary to what you promised at the time of your appointment you continue to hold your portfolio. Further, being a much more sophisticated person than many of your ministerial colleagues, you have very often ventured to explain away or cover up the atrocities committed by your marauding troops.

Mr Minister, to date, not a single police, army, navy or air force officer has been charged with any offence in the Courts in spite of the innumerable criminal acts they have committed. Yet you had the effrontery to claim in your interview with 'The Hindu' (29.9.84) correspondent, '**I could say no government has taken so much action against the security force misbehaviour as the government of Sri Lanka**'. By this single statement, you have demonstrated that you are a living example of the truth of the assertion that politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel.

What action did you take against the 200 policemen who went berserk (this was admitted by your government in parliament) and gutted to the ground the Jaffna Public Library with its priceless collection of 95,000 books, historical documents and manuscripts, on the night of June 1, 1981? What action did you take against your marauders when they burnt down half Jaffna city including the market building, several shops, the Eela Nadu Press, several bookshops, the home of the Jaffna MP, the TULF headquarters and many other buildings?

Mr Minister, what action did you take against those who committed the cold-blooded murder in broad daylight of over 75 Tamils, including schoolchildren, on July 24, 1983 in the Jaffna Peninsula? What action did you take against the army men who went on a rampage on May 18, 1983 and burnt down 163 houses in and around Kanthamadam in Jaffna? What action did you take against the air force men who smashed up the Gandhiyam offices and its vehicles in Vavuniya in June 1983? What action did you take against the 130 navy men who rampaged through the city of Trincomalee (the government admitted this too) on July 26 and burnt down hundreds of properties? What action have you taken against those who burnt the Jaffna Multi-Purpose Co-operative Store, 123 homes and shops in Mannar, and several houses and shops at Atchuveli, Valvettiturai, Jaffna and other places — all this occurring since your appointment?

I could cite a hundred more incidents of this nature in respect of which your government has failed to take any action whatsoever.

Not a single court-martial

Mr Minister, when you were questioned as to why there has not been even a single court-martial against even a single member of the security forces, you stated that the only action you have taken in respect of certain cases is to terminate their services with dishonour! Termination of services for arson and murder? Could you please, Mr Minister, publish the number, the names and the ranks of those who have so far been terminated if your claim is true?

You also have claimed that you could not institute a court-martial or criminal proceedings against a single member of the security services because no one was prepared to come forward and give evidence! Does that mean, Mr Minister, that there is not a single officer in the Sri Lankan security services who is honest, disciplined and has a sense of duty to come forward and give evidence against those who commit murder and arson?

Are you, therefore, admitting that the entirety of the armed forces is composed of arsonists and murderers and those who either cover up for them or collude with them? Let us take the Mannar incident in which 123 homes were burnt down. You conceded in the interview with 'The Hindu' that 'Army Commander, Col. Boris Marks tried heroically' to prevent his men going on this rampage but failed. Hence in this case you would have had the direct eyewitness evidence of the Army Commander himself. Yet we have still to hear of a court-martial or a criminal prosecution against even a single officer in the Mannar rampage!

Explain away failure

You tried to explain away your government's failure to institute an impartial judicial investigation into the massacre of 53 Tamil political detainees in the Welikade prison on July 25 and 27. You claimed that a 'judicial inquiry' was held by a magistrate and that no further action was possible because no one came forward and identified those responsible. Firstly, as a lawyer with a Masters degree from Oxford, you ought to know that the 'judicial inquiry' to which you refer was only an inquest to establish the cause of death and the verdict was one of homicide.

Secondly, is it your contention, Mr Minister, that none of the prison officers, including the Deputy Superintendent of Prison, who were there when the massacres took place and who claimed that they tried hard to prevent the massacre taking place, was able to identify even one of the assailants (who numbered about 500 on July 25 and 400 on July 27)?

If the prison officers did not themselves participate in the massacre, then it would be reasonable to assume that they ought to be able to identify at least some of the assailants. A proper independent judicial investigation would have unearthed the truth. But your government has refused to order such an investigation thus giving validity to the inference that your government was and is engaged in a total cover-up operation.

P. R. Shanthi
15.11.84

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THE SITUATION NOW

By David Selbourne

Sri Lanka is reaching the year's end smeared in blood; the blood of wicked and innocent alike, men, women and children. This is no longer any paradise island (tourists, aid agencies and investors beware) but a new Devil's Island, its Buddha of peace become a reincarnation of Kali, the fanged destroyer. With one difference — this unique and hybrid Sri Lankan deity, whose principal temples and worshippers are located at Kotte and Gurunagar, Elephant Pass and Panagoda, is a deity of self-destruction, hell-bent on a holocaust which will consume the very ground it stands upon.

Meanwhile, Mankulam, Vavuniya, Kaithady and (day by day) other battlefields of a tormented island have piled massacre upon massacre, multiplying the bodies of the fallen, and raising new cries of anguish which reach to high heaven.

What was long ago foreseeable — the inexorable spread of the conflict to the up-country estates (despite the efforts of Colombo to suppress news of it), the growing suzerainty of the USA over Sri Lanka, the hiring of mercenaries as the amount of dirty work increases, the gradual ruin of the economy and the political system — are all advancing in tandem.

Small men all

And in Colombo, the mediocre and frightened Sinhalese politicians — small men all, with delusions of grandeur, both paranoid and vicious — prefer self-immolation to a sane regard for the legitimate demands of the Tamils; prefer US-inspired security (or 'free-fire') zones to the devolution of powers; prefer killing and hara-kari to concessions; prefer to go down — as assuredly they will — fighting, rather than make the kind of political accommodation with the Tamils which would alone serve Sinhalese interests.

But then those whom the gods intend to destroy, they first make mad. Madness is the declaring of a 'no man's land' from Mannar to Mullaitivu; madness, the colonising of Tamil homelands with Sinhalese convicts; madness, the attempt to make a Tamil concentration camp of Jaffna; madness, the phantom of 'invaders' from Madras in a dozen catamarans; madness, too, the relentless provocation from Colombo of the international economic and aid agencies to withdraw their resources from Sri Lanka; madness, the tough-guy posturings of the tin-pot Athulathmudali, against a national movement which can no longer be fought off with the chest-beatings of a King Kong defying the demands of human dignity and justice.

Responsible for the tears

'Terrorism' (answering state terrorism) there is in Sri Lanka, and always more ghastly in its 'victories' and 'achievements'; but the blood it sheds is on Colombo's hands also. For, those who hold power — puny men as they are, and the embodiment of every political evil — hold responsibility too for every burst of gunfire, Tamil or Sinhalese; and are responsible for the tears of every widow and orphan, Sinhalese or Tamil.

Yet, the historical moment has also clearly arrived when the Tamils' cause has come into the ascendant. Indeed, I believe it is dawning on the world that the Tamil struggle for self-determination represents less a threat to the integrity of the Sri Lankan polity, than the only possible and rational path to their community's physical survival in the general disaster: *a disaster for the Sinhalese also*, which has been brought about by Colombo's suicidal refusal to deal justly with those of its citizens who are Tamils.

The irreversible consequence is to have made internal and external exiles of some of Sri Lanka's most talented and hard-working people; to have made gunmen and 'terrorists' of their sons and grandsons; to have set in motion the very breakdown of the social order which Mossad, the SAS and the new US command-post in Colombo have been hired to — but can now never — repair; and to have brought into being, singlehanded and day by day, the very forces which a greater state force, arming to the teeth, will now never master.

Under the surface, however, new movements of international opinion and Tamil action, as well as yet greater human disasters, are in the making. Covertly, and with the greatest cynicism, Colombo seeks political contact with the 'separatists', while at the same time pushing towards an unattainable 'final solution'; the strength of the militants grows rapidly, as it was always bound to do, while competition between them intensifies to prove by massacre and ambush the quality of their mettle; and foreign powers, licking their lips over the battle, jockey for geo-political position in a private game in which a recolonised Colombo, whatever it may think, is not even a player. And in Europe especially — and in private — politicians, foreign office representatives, aid and development agency officials, and human rights activists are now sitting down together to discuss concerted sanctions against Sri Lanka.

Speak for the whole

In the meantime, Sri Lanka and all its people bleed, burn and struggle; and as always, it is the most defenceless, the poorest, the voiceless, who must bear the heaviest crosses. Indeed, beyond race and the brutish bigotry unleashed by Colombo's benighted priests and bewitched politicians, stands a common people's interest in peace and a just settlement of human and community grievances. But since Colombo has lost its voice (and reason) crying out for ever more arms and ever less justice, it is the Tamils who have now begun to speak to the world for the whole of Sri Lanka.

'TAMIL RIGHTS MUST BE GUARANTEED' — say international lawyers

A resolution pleading that the Tamil population of Sri Lanka should be, by appropriate legislations, granted the rights guaranteed by international instruments concerning racial and ethnic minorities was adopted by the general assembly of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers which met in Athens recently.

The meeting recorded its deep concern at the continued brutal massacre and repressive policies against the Tamils in Sri Lanka and urged the Sri Lanka government to stop immediately all actions likely to violate their rights and to solve the problem on a political basis through negotiations.

The President of the Organisation for the Protection of Human Rights, Mr V.R. Krishna Iyer, who attended the assembly, said there that the Jayewardene government had even induced some Western countries to refuse the fleeing Tamils the 'refugee status'. This tragic success of that government could be nullified only by

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STATE TERRORISM STEPPED UP

OCTOBER 25, 1984

FISHERMEN ATTACKED: Two fishermen were attacked by the Sri Lanka Navy while out fishing in the Chempianpattru sea in the North. The navy personnel smashed up the 6 h.p. outboard motor of their fibreglass boats, shelled the boats and assaulted the fishermen mercilessly. As the boats began to sink, the injured fishermen jumped into the sea and were struggling to get ashore, when another fishing boat rescued them. They have lodged a complaint with the Assistant Government Agent in Point Pedro.

TAMIL YOUTHS ARRESTED IN COLOMBO: Twelve Tamil youths who had come to Colombo were arrested by the police in a house at Maradana. They were said to be from Kilinochchi.

OCTOBER 26, 1984

MORE ARRESTS IN COLOMBO: Two Tamil youths who went to Colombo to fly abroad on employment contracts and a schoolmaster who went to see them off were taken into custody by the police. The arrested are Pandari Selladurai (34 years), Velan Poobalasingam (25 years), and Sinnatamby Chandrabalan (26 years), all from Kaithady West.

COMPLAINANT ARRESTED TOO: an agricultural extension officer from Kilinochchi who went to the police station to complain about a robbery in the Agricultural Superintendent's office in Kilinochchi was arrested and remanded. It was said that this was in accordance with a new government directive that complainants about robberies in government institutions should be remanded and questioned!

PIRACY BY ARMY: The Army commandeered a lorry from the Pandatherrippu Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society to freeboot two fibreglass fishing boats that were anchored in the Sambil harbour at Mathagal.

MATHAGAL SHELLED: The Mathagal–Kaanchiporam coastline was shelled from the sea by the Navy for nearly an hour. Villagers fled from their homes and spent the night in adjoining paddyfields as helicopters hovered low with blazing searchlights.

OCTOBER 28, 1984

COLOMBO ARRESTS CONTINUE: Over the last three days 36 Tamil youths, hailing from Jaffna, Batticaloa and Vavuniya, have been arrested in Colombo. These youths who were either employed in Colombo or had come to Colombo on legitimate business, were arrested in the Maradana, Cinnamon Gardens and Narahenpita areas.

MASSACRE AT URUMPIRAI: At Urumpirai, two innocent Tamil youths, who had moved into a by-lane on seeing the arrival of an Army convoy, were pursued by the convoy and shot dead. The gunfire from the armoured cars damaged several houses and injured many citizens.

MORE VILLAGES UNDER SIEGE: The 'house-to-house search, assault and capture operations' of the security forces continued in the areas of Telippalai, Manipay, Karainagar, Pesalai, Valvettiturai and Kilinochchi. The armed forces set fire to several houses at Skandapuram in the Kilinochchi area. At Valvettiturai, several Tamil youths have been brutally attacked in the villages of Panthiady and Urikaadu. Several Tamil youths have been taken away as captives in the Kilinochchi area.

CANCER HOSPITAL – NO DOCTORS: There is no doctor for the only cancer treatment centre for the entire Northern Province. Due to the government's indifference in setting up a cancer hospital for the Tamil people of the North, funds collected by the Tamil public and several charity organisations saw the setting up of a cancer treatment centre for the Tamils of the North, thereby saving cancer patients and their families the nightmarish ordeal of having to go to Colombo for treatment.

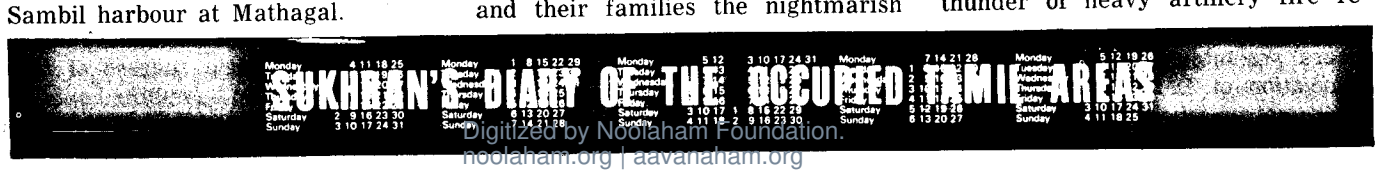
But several appeals to the government to appoint a doctor to this hospital fell on deaf ears and the hospital is still unable to commence work. The hospital committee has now decided to appeal directly to Foreign Missions in Colombo to extend the services of foreign doctors to man this hospital. Since the July 1983 pogrom, cancer patients from the North prefer to disintegrate to death in their homes than go to Colombo to face a more painful death.

OCTOBER 29, 1984

MORE SHELLING AT MATHAGAL: Intensive shelling of the Mathagal coast took place tonight for two hours commencing at 8pm. Gunboats of the Sri Lanka Navy have been anchored in the sea off Mathagal between the Sembian harbour and Senthankulam for the past week and though there has been some degree of shelling every night, it was only today that the shelling moved into top gear. At least ten houses near the sea coast have been almost completely destroyed. People living near the coastline at Mathagal, Kanchipuram and Kusumanthurai fled their homes and spent the night in paddyfields.

TROOPS DISRUPT RELIGIOUS FUNCTION: Mavidappuram Kandasamy Temple, a Hindu shrine renowned even in India, had its annual 'Sooran Porr' festival disrupted by the armed forces today. The troops were engaged in a 'house-to-house search, attack and capture' operation barely 200 yards away from the shrine. As the festival was in progress a massive army convoy chose to wend its way in front of the temple with overflying helicopter cover, sending the devotees flving helter-skelter for safety.

STATE TERROR AT TELLIPPALAI: The hamlet of Mathanai at Tellippalai was subjected to a gruesome attack by the armed forces today. The thunder of heavy artillery fire re-



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verberated through Tellippalai tonight as several armoured vehicles rolled through this quiet village. Several houses were damaged. Two Tamil youths who were killed had their bodies paraded through the streets, lanes and byways, laid atop on armoured car. Subsequently their bodies were shoved into gunny-bags (like carcasses) by the troops and taken to the mortuary of Jaffna Hospital.

NOVEMBER 1, 1984

TROOPS SET URELU ABLAZE: Security forces went on the rampage today between Urumpirai and Urelu setting fire to several houses. A heavy smokescreen hung over the village of Urelu today. Urelu was like a haunted village, with virtually every resident having fled from his or her home to adjoining villages of Kopay, Kokuvil, Kondavil and Neervely. Others hid in neighbouring farms. When the residents fled, the troops are said to have entered their homes and helped themselves to cash and jewellery, and smashed up TVs, video decks and radio sets. A father (Thambipillai Kandasamy, 58 years), and two sons (K. Devakumar, 23 years and K. Sooriyakumar, 18 years), were herded to the rear of their house and shot dead by the troops. A labourer, Perumal (60 years), working in a neighbouring home, was also shot dead.

MURDER AT URUMPIRAI: Security forces opened fire on two innocent Tamil youths travelling on a motorcycle at Urumpirai and killed them in what is described as an absolutely unprovoked attack.

ARSON AT ATCHUVELY: Marauding troops set fire to several houses at Atchuvely. The loss to property is said to run into several lakhs of Rupees (several thousand pounds sterling).

JAFFNA MURDERS: Troops opened fire on the Jaffna bus station, killing a Tamil speaking Muslim schoolboy, Azeez Amjath (17 years), and injuring another, Abdul Gaffeor Javahir (16 years), both of whom were innocent civilians who had come to collect their daily newspapers. The troops had also opened fire on the Jaffna railway station injuring several, including 65-year-old S. Rasiah. Meanwhile, security forces travelling in the Jaffna–Colombo 'Yal Devi Express train' opened fire at commuters waiting at the Nedunkulam road railway crossing, killing Saanthan, a youth from Chankanai. These were all unprovoked attacks.

NOVEMBER 2, 1984

VALLALAI BLITZED: Troops went berserk at Vallalai, a village three miles away from Palaly, in an orgy of arson, thuggery and murder. Troops are said to have opened fire at random and then as the people ran away from their homes entered them and plundered their cash and jewellery. They had lined up two-wheeled tractors, lorries, TVs, video decks, radios and several tons of seed onions and set them ablaze. Twenty-six large houses and 10 huts belonging to the poor were completely razed to the ground by the fire, the charred remains of one of the residents, a 71-year-old retired schoolteacher, Velupillai Eliyathamby, being found riddled with bullets in his burnt-out house. The fires are said to have blazed well past midnight and when people gathered to put out the fire, the troops had driven back to the area and opened fire on them. A large grapefruit farm had been set on fire and destroyed. In all, 500 people have been rendered homeless by the fire. A Christian orphanage at Atchuvely was also attacked and looted by the Army.

NOVEMBER 6, 1984

INCINERATION IN JAFFNA: 'Operation Incineration' of the rampaging security forces turned to Nachimar Kovilady, a village on the outskirts of Jaffna town. Several shots were fired at a house, which was then set on fire along with a motorcycle and a bicycle parked nearby. Four Tamil civilians were taken into custody.

MURDER AT URUMPIRAI: Three Tamil youths riding squeezed up on a motorcycle were shot at by the troops. Two of them, K. Yoganathan, 25 years and T. Sri Kumar, 25 years, died on the spot. The third youth, Sri Ranjan, was admitted to hospital with injuries.

MULLAITIVU KILLINGS: Seven Tamil youths were shot dead and eight others captured when troops carried out a search operation in the Mullaitivu district.

DOCTORS AND NURSES ARRESTED: Doctors Gowrimohan and Premachandran, nurses Mrs Ambiga Kamalanathan and Mrs Kiruba Manicavasagar and nursing attendants Mrs Jeeva Alagadurai and Mrs Seetha Ravindran, all of the Government Hospital at Batticaloa in the Eastern Province and who had been in remand custody for the last three weeks for allegedly treating Tamil guerrillas, were released conditionally today. They have been ordered not to move out of the Batticaloa area without obtaining police permission.

STUDENT BOYCOTT AT BATTICALOA: Schoolboys of Sivananda Vidyalayam, Batticaloa, began a three-day boycott of classes protesting against the arrest of four of their colleagues by the armed forces and demanding their release.

NOVEMBER 1984

REIGN OF TERROR IN JAFFNA: A bomb exploded in a deserted house at Kachcheri Nallur Road in Nallur when security forces raided it. No one was injured or killed as a result. The incensed troops decided to make a hasty retreat to their camp at Gurunagar but left a trail of destruction, firing indiscriminately as they sped along at houses and buildings along their route. Among those injured and admitted to hospital are Devarajah (56 years) of the Jaffna Kachcheri and little Miss Dharshini Shanmugarajah (7 years). The troops returned in massive numbers later on in the day and blasted the house in question at Nallur. They also carried out a house-to-house search, assault and capture operation in the area. Most residents in the Kachcheri Nallur Road area abandoned their homes and moved over to other areas of relative safety.

SEVERAL VILLAGES UNDER SIEGE: The villages of Vattakachchy, Ramanatha Puram, Puloly, Thumapalai, Vallai Kurichy and Urelu were under siege by the security forces who carried out a house-to-house search, assault, arson and capture operation. A charred Datsun van stands in front of the Kilinochchi Kandasamy temple, bearing testimony to the blitz.

SEVEN KILLED, 35 INJURED IN ARMY SHOOTING SPREE: Following the explosion of an incendiary device, the Sri Lankan army went on an indiscriminate shooting spree in the northern Jaffna city, killing 7 Tamils on the spot and injuring several others. Thirty-five of the injured were admitted to the Jaffna and Tellipalai hospitals.

The army personnel, some in a minibus and others in a truck, kept on firing at random as the vehicles were driven along K.K.S. Road. Many people walking along the road and standing at their door-steps were killed or

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MISCELLANY

DURING her lifetime, Mrs Indira Gandhi was reviled in public and in private by the ruling circles in Sri Lanka. Ranasinghe Premadasa, the Prime Minister carried on a relentless tirade against Indira and India.

Besides the assassins, the leading members of the ruling United National Party and the extreme racist sections in Sri Lanka must have been the happiest lot at the tragic death of Indira Gandhi who was described by the 'Saturday Review' editor, Mr Gamini Navaratne, as 'a peerless stateswoman who was an adornment to the entire human race'.

Peerless in their hypocrisy, the Sri Lankan President and Prime Minister rose to the occasion. President Jayawardene described Indira's death as 'an irreparable loss to India . . . a grievous blow to the Non-aligned Movement and the international community' and flew to Delhi to attend the funeral to shed a few crododile tears. Premier Premadasa declared that 'India . . . has had no greater patriot'.

While the Tamil people in general were mourning the death of a true and trusted friend with a three-day hartal from 1st to 3rd November, the Sri Lankan armed forces 'celebrated' the occasion with dancing and music in the streets of Jaffna. They danced a 'baila' singing and shouting 'Ammah Enge' (where is the mother now?). The music and dancing came to an abrupt end when a few incendiary devices exploded and 'those who derived some jackal satisfaction from her tragic end' ran for their lives.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

THE state-controlled 'Daily News' (8.11.84) reporting on the appointment of Rajiv as the Prime Minister of India under the heading 'What Rajiv Inherits', gave a list of the problem areas. Sri Lanka figures prominantly in the list along with Kashmir, Assam and Punjab. When and how did Rajiv inherit 'Sri Lanka'? The 'Daily News' would appear to be learning some 'realpolitik'!

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'THE Minister of Lands and Land Development (Mr Gamini Dissanayake, referred to the adverse activities of Mr Kumar Rupasinghe in the Scandinavian countries. The Minister of Foreign Affairs said that a new dimension had arisen in propaganda in that Sinhala persons were criticising the government for discriminating against the Tamils. Mr Gamini Navaratne of the "Saturday Review" had been continuously attacking the government.' This is an extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Sri Lankan Cabinet Sub-Committee on Economic Development held on 23rd May, 1984, and signed by the Secretary to the Cabinet Mr G.V.P. Samarasinghe.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

THE following is an translation of a statement made by Ms Marit Wikholm, MP in the Norwegian Parliament on November 26, 1984:

'Finally, a few words on Sri Lanka. I have noted the committee's (Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Policy) remarks that one will appraise the situation in Sri Lanka according to White Paper No.36 on Norway's Co-operation with Developing Nations. I think it is important that the government of Sri Lanka is made to receive strong signals that development aid can be altered if it continues its systematic hunt and near-extermination of Tamils.

'Despite President Jayawardene's strong efforts to explain away the acts of tyranny and maintain that it is the terrorist groups they are fighting, we know from, among others, BBC reports and from Tamils living in Norway, it is only propaganda to legitimise (the government's) own actions. I am also referring to three amnesty reports of the last year. People are disappearing, and being murdered, and houses and shops are being burnt. That Tamils are resorting to counter-offensive is natural. But it is up to the government of Sri Lanka to restore law and order.

There are very good reasons for Norway to follow the developments closely. 'Our entire development aid policy will fall into disrepute if we risk our development aid funds being used by one ethnic group to suppress another. (I would like to ask Minister Brusletten (Minister of Development Aid) whether we can be sure by any means that a certain proportion of the grant for Sri Lanka will go to projects in the Tamil areas, and what practical problems are encountered in that respect?'

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A CEYLON Transport board bus driver has been penalised for his failure to contribute to celebrate President Jayawardene's birthday.

The driver, who was recently transferred from the Sri Lankan southern town of Udugama to Galle, has been placed on 'standby' duty and gets work very infrequently.

The ruling UNP-led Jathika Seva Sangamaya (JSS) of which the Industries Minister Mr Cyril Mathew is the President, recently collected money from all employees to celebrate Jayawardene's birthday. Most of the employees paid up for fear of the consequences. The driver in question declined to contribute because the JSS had misused the money collected last year.

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THE JSS has donated Rs500,000 to the so-called National Defence Fund to fight 'terrorism'! Did this money come from the 'commission' given to the JSS boss in connection with an oil refinery deal some two years ago by an Italian firm? Or did it come from the 'loot' obtained during the July 1983 anti-Tamil violence in which the JSS members played no small part?

TAMIL TRAVAILS

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

injured. The firing continued until the army vehicles reached the camp at Palali which is about eight miles from Jaffna city.

Those who died included, T. Varnakulenthiran (29), Sivakumar (22), Dinesh Dillis (12), Manoharan (22), Saravanamuthu (44), and others who were not identified immediately.

Those injured included Nallathamby Nadarasah (64), P. Pushpanathan (27), Sivalokanathan (39), Miss Malathi Nageswaran (22), Ambalavanar Sarvanantharajah (21), Kandiah Nadarajah, A. Kaneshalingam (28), Alagaratnam, Sellathurai, Sarojinithevi (38), Mohanadas (16), Thamotharam (43), Selvarajah (29), Periyathamby, Veluppillai (43), Puvanenthiran, A. Vaithi (46), S. Joseph (24), Sivasuntharam (19), Koneswaran (10), S. David (14), Vigneswaran (12), Kathilingam (66), Gnanarathinam (62), Nagarasa (37), P. Marimuthu (40), M. Thangarajah (28), S. Thiyagarajah (40), and Aiyathurai (20).

Two more Tamil civilians were shot and killed by the army on the same day near Jaffna Kachcheri.

Editorial note: We are sorry that due to the troubled conditions in the Tamil areas, the later part of the diary after 7th November has not reached us at the time of going to press.

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UNARMED AND UNDER SIEGE

By S. Parthasarathy*

Never before had the Tamil speaking people in the Northern Province, more particularly in the Jaffna Peninsula, faced such brutal and savage onslaughts from the security forces. The President, Mr J.R. Jayawardene, is apparently unmoved and is in no mood to respond to appeals to bring to an end 'the barbarousness of the armed forces' and to withdraw them totally from their land.

Most of the people this correspondent talked to still do not subscribe to a separate Eelam (Tamil word to denote a separate sovereign state comprising all the Tamil speaking areas of Sri Lanka). They had been alienated by previous spells of rioting, official discrimination, and in Tamil majority areas by the rough treatment at the hands of the ill-disciplined, mainly Sinhalese security forces. Several of them noted that at this rate, a stage would be reached soon when the entire population might decide on separation as the only solution.

The Tamils may cease to be receptive to appeals from the capital. Students, cab drivers, doctors, engineers, officers, petty officials, businessmen and politicians speak with one voice about the undependability of the Government when it comes to any kind of agreement on the future of the culturally and linguistically distinct Tamil population in the island.

An unarmed population, men, women and children, feel they are kept under a kind of siege within the peninsula by an armed force of several thousand men. One bank official pointed out that when there was a robbery in the bank on a certain night and when the occurrence was reported promptly to the police and the army, neither of them cared to visit the scene till the next morning; they felt safe to come only in broad daylight and sprayed bullets indiscriminately, killing passers-by. It was only when the doctors from the hospital opposite protested saying they would stop treating wounded servicemen, that the armed forces halt their madness, said one eyewitness. He also said policemen were not available for law and order duties as they were afraid to come out of the police station. This naturally encouraged criminals to indulge in vandalism.

Normal life disrupted

In other ways too, normal life remains disrupted. With a number of banks robbed, there is a dearth of money in circulation. One therefore sees a long queue of people at the two banks, open for two hours a day. Shops are open only a few hours. Not all of them are well stocked.

The roads are in an awful state of disrepair. A high official of the Jaffna Municipality expressed his regret that the Government decision to starve the Tamil areas of resources for development should have applied even to routine maintenance expenditure like the upkeep of roads. Likewise, the Jaffna Hospital, once known as the second best hospital in the island, lags far behind some of the others.

No funds are forthcoming for improving its facilities, nor even for maintaining the services at the present level. Bus services are curtailed considerably and only one train is running between Colombo and Jaffna. One can go on like this — listing the inadequacies in the infrastructure of Jaffna brought about directly by Government

Stories of reprisals

After this correspondent had been in Jaffna for some time, people came forward with stories of army reprisal, more and more fearful and terrible, following successive acts of militants in various parts of the Northern Province.

To avenge the acts of militants, the police and the army seize passenger vehicles and deal with the occupants in a savage manner. One of the few survivors in the Vavuniya bus massacre (of September 11) narrated the gruesome tragedy in gory detail. While Kandasami Thurai, father of Ravi, one of the passengers in the Jaffna-bound bus done to death by army men, was too dazed to speak, Christopher Bestiam Pillai Anandaraja (20), a passenger who left Colombo Fort at 8pm on September 10, was forthcoming. Around 2.30am, when the bus was proceeding towards Jaffna after a refreshment halt at Rambevava, five sturdy, stern-looking men, one of them in military uniform, with loaded rifles/sten guns (in the darkness he could not clearly identify the weapon), ordered the driver to stop the bus ten kilometres from Vavuniya and got into it. 'I heard them calling death to the Tamils whose terrorists had killed nine army men the previous day in Mullaitheevu and I got jittery,' he said.

The bus was carrying 46 passengers including a number of women. The intruders appeared fully drunk. There was a change of driver at Rambevava and the driver (a Tamil) who was replaced at the wheel was pulled out of the vehicle as he was crying 'Muruga, Muruga' and shot dead.

Some 15 passengers were asked to dismount and as they were fleeing the army men shot at their backs and killed them. Some cried they were Muslims and some others mumbled 'Buddha, Buddha', meaning they were Sinhalese and they were given a sound beating and ordered to disperse. I was hiding myself underneath a seat but they soon found me out and dragged me out beating me with the rifle butt while another soldier kicked me on the face with his heavy boots. I crawled underneath the vehicle and as the attention of the army men got diverted to the two girl passengers, I and four others managed to escape to a village in the jungle some miles away and later to Jaffna.'

17 persons massacred

Altogether 17 persons were massacred in the bus incident and some lost their legs or sustained gun shot injuries, according to Anandaraja Visibly shaking, he said he had decided to leave the country.

Vasanthakumar (20) spoke of the establishment of army camps in all the colleges in Mullaitheevu. He also spoke of the way the boys rounded up were treated — being ordered to lie flat on the floor and being beaten till they bled. Even 65 to 70-year-old people were taken into custody. With tears welling in his eyes, he described the barbarous manner in which some 20 boys and a 65-year-old man were shot dead by the armed forces and said that one of the terms for returning the bodies was that the parents should sign statements that they were all 'terrorists'. One parent at least refused to sign such a statement and did not want the body of his ward on such a condition.

People live in fear

For some time it has been a regular feature for the naval vessels to fire projectiles from the sea on the coastal village in Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, etc. In Point Pedro, as the Parish priest was preparing for the Sunday liturgy, the assault was on. Some projectiles hit the parish house and a splinter hit the high roof right above the altar. A few houses behind the church which were hit and damaged were shown to this correspondent by the people of the locality.

The people are in constant dread of being injured or killed as it happened on September 15 at Polygandy (quite some distance from the coast) where Kalavathy was killed. Her husband

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Thangathurai, a cobbler by profession, who also sustained serious injury by one shell and was incapacitated for life, told this correspondent that one shell penetrated his wife's head. She was later admitted to hospital where she died.

The projectiles fired by the gun boat hit coconut trees and houses, even some distance away from the coast. On September 9, 'one shell fell on my house', said T. Ramachandran of Kunchcham Lane. The shell broke into fragments, breaking a large number of tiles. The impact was so great that the beam was broken into two. Mrs S. Nadanalingam was injured in her right ankle by a shell. Another shell was reported to have travelled three-quarters of a mile, and bounced off after hitting a tree close to the parapet wall at an angle of 45.

The projectiles did not come only from the sea. They came from moving armoured vehicles too, hitting houses. Police commandos fired shells from moving vehicles in Point Pedro at the house of a retired postmaster. In another shelling, they killed one Sadacharam and crippled a 65-year-old woman, Mrs Chellappa, in the second week of September.

Jaffna citizens remember with awe the declaration of Mr Jayawardene calling upon the army to eliminate, in accordance with the laws of the land, the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the island and more especially from Jaffna district, and placing at its disposal all the resources of the state. This task supposed to have been completed before 1980 but remaining far from being accomplished, the people think that new methods are being adopted by the Government. They see a stark qualitative change in the methods of repression.

They see the Israeli hand in the new methods and are not carried away by the tweedledum-tweedledee type of difference between Mossad and Shin Beth.

In particular, the blast on August 12 in the Chunnakham police station vacated overnight by the police killing innocent people and other inhuman acts involving the burning of civilian homes are attributed to Israeli masterminding. The people believe the Israelis may be tendering advice to the Government on settling Sinhalese colonists in the Tamil areas of the dry zone in Vavuniya, Mannar, Valvettiturai, Mullaitheevu and so on — on the lines of the Israeli settlements in Palestinian homes in the Gaza Strip and the banks of the Jordan river.

With the naval bombardment of coastal areas becoming a regular feature and the naval surveillance intensifying, fishermen cannot go out fishing. K. Tharmaraja (32) and Balasingam Vignaswaran (19) from a coastal village off Point Pedro said that when they went out into the sea on August 6 in a trawler, they were intercepted by the navy men and driven back to the shore with a warning against venturing out again. 'From father to son for hundreds of years, we follow the sea. What do we do now for our living?' they asked.

What is in store for the Tamil people? 'The 100 per cent Sinhala army behaving like an occupation army in a 100 per cent Tamil country creates a situation motivating ethnic genocide — an ideal setting for a slow and noiseless genocide,' said Deogu Pillai, Bishop of Jaffna, throwing up his hands in despair.

** S. Parthasarathy is a correspondent of the Indian daily 'HINDU'*

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WAR PSYCHOSIS

FROM PAGE 8

labour he exploits for his profits). The mudalalis were unheard of in the NE coast up till then and the fishermen there had been self-employed, each one fishing for his own existence.

So, in addition to communal exploitatioan of the local Tamil fishermen, there also began a class exploitation of all fishermen, with the blows felt more heavily by the Tamils. Most of these fishing mudalalis were relatives of Sinhalese politicians and so, in addition to commanding wealth, they commanded real political power and political nepotism. The police and armed forces (who had set up camps in the area), were at their beck and call.

The advent of President Jayawardene's chauvinist regime in 1977 saw the total fulfilment of promises held out — ownership of misappropriated crown lands, instant credit facilities and provision of arms for terrorising and driving out the Tamil fishermen northwards. Thus, Tamil fishermen were driven out of Kokillai, Nayaru and Chemmalai into the deep north and the line of Sinhalese colonisation was advancing, having settled well over 5,000 Sinhalese fishing families in these areas. Significant colonisation also took place in Silavaththai, Ambalavan Pokkanai, Maathalan and Chundikulam.

The racial pogroms of 1974, 1977 and 1983 saw the fury of attacks not only by the Sinhalese encroachers but also by the Sinhalese armed forces on Tamil fishermen in these areas. The feuds continued from day to day between the Sinhalese and Tamil members of these fishing communities with attacks and counter-attacks and what took place in early December was one such manifestation of the continuing feud, which was blown out of proportion by the government to justify an impending massacre of the Tamil fishermen in these areas and a further accelerated anti-Tamil drive by sticking the 'terrorist label' on them.

FROM PAGE 13

an effective publicity for the butchery of human rights which the President and all his men in Sri Lanka were guilty of. 'Colombo is guilty of state terrorism, genocidal in essence beyond description.'

The Sri Lankan problem had been banished to the background in the Western countries as their issues dominated the world. The Sri Lankan government, through its lobbies, has presented its case before the agencies concerned, exaggerating violently the problem of terrorism and Tamil Tigers and underplaying on an incon-

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PARTING OF THE WAYS

By WAKELEY PAUL

My first and rooted impression as a Tamil who was nurtured in Colombo was to oppose any fractionalisation of our island. My reasons were that such division would be geographically and economically not feasible, and that such separation could lead in turn to rifts and splits amongst each community itself. Such rifts would be healthy if nurtured in a democratic spirit, but could be disastrous if fashioned in the belief by some that further divisions of their own kind could ultimately advance their own ends.

Much of what has happened since, has changed my mind radically, and in understanding this, let us join some of our many historical insights. Right through Celyon's early history, the Sinhalese and Tamils had unfortunately little contact with each other, except during occasional skirmishes, and this was true of many ethnic groups in an era of slower communication.

The first true mingling of the groups emerged under the British. This was contributed to, amongst other things, by a strong centralised government by the world's dominant power of the time, the introduction of English as the common prime language, and as the common source of access to education and employment while a large majority of Sinhalese and Tamils spoke little or no English, they were dominated (as people in all countries) by their educated elite.

The Tamils, beset by a harsh agricultural environment, grasped the educational pole to success more readily. This does not detract from the dominant Sinhalese educated effort at forging unity and forming fronts to regain independence for the nation as a whole. Even the original Tamil demand originated by G.G. Ponnambalam was a 50/50 representation in a unified parliament of a united nation.

The post-independence era once again set the stage for the alienation of the minority from the majority, mainly through the medium of language. Bandaranaike not only made Sinhalese the official language, but let the Tamils pursue their education in their own language. They did, however, have access to a university education in their language medium, with little opportunities for jobs even in their own region, where the majority community language prevailed. This, followed by the efforts by Mrs Bandaranaike to thwart even their educational opportunities in the universities of the country led to an increased alienation of the educated Tamils of the north from the mainstream of Sri Lanka's society.

Almost gleeful killing

I need hardly belabour the recent efforts by the TULF and the Indian government to heal this schism, all of which have been ignored, but I am appalled by the almost gleeful killing and looting of minorities, which not only belies the very essence of a sense of civilisation, but is also sickeningly indecent. All this in the name of wiping out terrorists!

How many were wage-earners and businessmen who could only thrive on stability? These are the subversives of the nation! How come they have not shown a semblance of retaliation while being attacked? Where were the caches of arms they possessed, and what were they doing with them? If they were seized, is there any evidence of such seizure? Of course not.

The violence attributed to those classified as 'terrorists' has been against an army which has trampled its land, its people, their homes and its institutions. Is it not glaringly true that this army was fostered and encouraged by the government at every turn? How can the government expect even the most moderate of Tamils to embrace them any more?

The Tamils' only hope now lies in their own exercise of autonomy, unless the government acting on behalf of all the people, exhibits equal impartiality and concern for all its citizens. The little political concerns of pandering to their own factions amongst the majority, and the splitting at the seams of the majority rulers of all parties renders this a dim if not impossible prospect.

They must realise that in this increasingly internationalised world, loud claims of national sovereignty may have a hollow ring.

** Wakeley Paul graduated in law from Cambridge and was later a Ford Foundation scholar at the Stamford Law School in California, where he obtained his LLM. He was a Crown Counsel in Ceylon and is now a Criminal Defence Attorney in the United States.)*

ceivably low key 'the blood, toil, tears and sweat' of the tormented Tamils, dreading death in the land where they had been living and fleeing as refugees, Mr Krishna Iyer said.

The former Supreme Court judge felt that India has a role in 'militantising' world opinion and international concern for the Tamil martyrs of Sri Lanka. 'Before our eyes, Hitlerite crimes are committed and so we must speak up and protest.' Capitals in the countries of the world should be informed more effectively than what we have done, about the macabre happenings in Jaffna and Kandy.

If only the bloodbath that was now becoming organised in Sri Lanka was brought to the burning attention of the West, many donor countries might decline aid to that island. Maybe the government of India has done something about this problem and surely the Prime Minister and her adviser were distressed and concerned but 'we have not carried on a tearing and raging campaign which is the cry of the hour,' he said.

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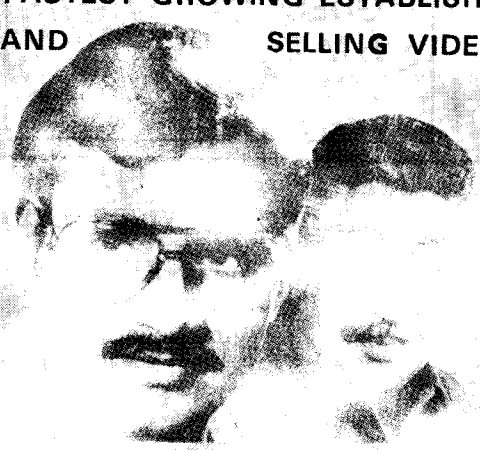

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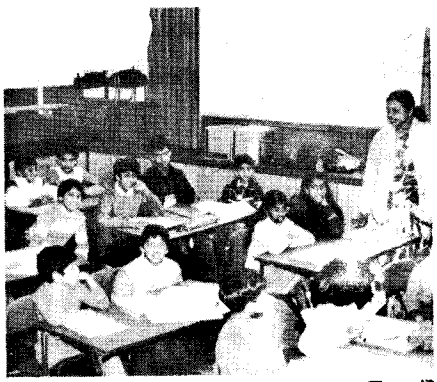
TAMIL SCHOOL AT CROYDON



The renewed interest among Tamil children in Britain in the learning of the Tamil language found concrete manifestation in the birth and growth of another Tamil school, in Croydon, in the south east of London.

A teacher and a few parents decided to set up a school to cater for Tamil children living in the south east of London in January this year. The school was formally inaugurated on January 14 in the Croydon Y.M.C.A.

Later, the school was moved to Davison Centre, Croydon. There are nearly 30 children on the roll. Most of them, although born in England and brought up in a western background, have shown encouraging signs of a great desire to learn their language, feel proud of their newly stirred awareness of their history, culture and customs.

At the end of term in July this year, the pupils were able to present parents and well-wishers a sample of what they had learnt during the previous seven months. By December, they would have completed a year when they are sure to display their achievements.

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OBITUARY

DR KANAGASABAI ARUDSOTHY

Dr Arudsothy, who passed away on September 23rd at the age of 54, was a General Practitioner in medicine in South East London.

He was born on January 23rd 1930 in Viyaparimoulai, Point Pedro, Ceylon and was educated at Hartley College and the University of Ceylon. He joined the Health Department of Ceylon, practised in many hospitals and came to the United Kingdom in 1960. He specialised in medicine and became a General Practitioner in 1967.

Highly respected

He was highly respected by his associates, friends nad relations for his honesty and trustworthiness. He was extremely conscientious, working tirelessly, showing kindness to all those whom he served.

Later in his life, he devoted his spare time to reading philosophical and religious literature. He wrote and sang many devotional songs.

He was fond of Eastern arts and music. He was a lover of freedom and stood for Peace and Justice, and was well known for his generous donations for worthy causes.

He is survived by his wife, Indrawathy, their son, Atheesan and daughter, Ambika.

May his soul rest in peace.

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JVP MEMBERS TO BE CHARGED UNDER TERRORISM ACT

Twenty-three young men, all Sinhalese, alleged to be supporters of the Peoples Liberation Front (JVP) are to be charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

A police party led by Inspector Gamini Perera recently raided a house in the southern village of Deniyaya and took into custody several Sinhalese youths who had met there to discuss political matters. The police allege that the men were listening to a tape-recorded speech by Rohana Wijeweera, the leader of the proscribed JVP. Wijeweera is still being wanted by the police and is in hiding. He has challenged the government to publish the charges against him in which event he would surrender to court.

Among the items which the police took into possession during the raid are 'subversive' literature, table lamps and the tape containing Wijeweera's speech!

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